

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. VI.—No. 15

SATURDAY, JULY 5th, 1919

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THE SOUTHPORT VICTORY.

**THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.
A TRIUMPH FOR DIRECT ACTION!
A BLOW FOR HUNGARY AND RUSSIA!
A STEP TOWARDS REVOLUTION!**

Our progress is slow; but still we are progressing; a change is coming over the British Labour Movement.

The Southport Conference of the Labour Party has clearly recognised the International class struggle between Labour and Capital.

It has declared (though as yet a little timidly, and without as yet full preparedness to meet all the obligations of this choice) its solidarity with the Workers' Socialist Republics of Russia and of Hungary.

It has declared itself in favour of using direct industrial action to achieve the political ends of the workers.

It has decided that direct industrial action shall be used to stop capitalist attacks upon the Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary.

But it has left this action to the joint Executives, and the Executives will not act without pressure.

It has given the I.L.P. leaders, who stand for pacifist reformism, an electoral triumph. The policy of the Conference was an advance on the policy of the I.L.P. leaders; the left wing has become the centre.

The Triple Alliance, which met in Southport on June 24, the day before the Labour Party Conference opened, led the way for direct action. In view of the failure of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to call a special conference of the Trade Union Movement on conscription, the intervention in Russia, the blockade, the release of conscientious objectors, and military intervention in trade disputes, the Triple Alliance decided to call a conference of its own constituent bodies for this purpose on July 23rd.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE LABOUR PARTY.

The swift growth of revolutionary class consciousness, which is taking place in the Labour Movement, was apparent as soon as McGurk, the Chairman, began his opening address. The speech was a jumble of half-told facts and half-expressed and conflicting opinions, with conspicuous errors both of fact and judgment. Obviously it failed to arouse the sympathy of the delegates. It baldly said that even amongst the Western democracies some supporters had been found for Lenin's policy of a working-class dictatorship. It made the amazing mis-statement that the German Spartacists had made counter-revolutions! It said that Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson had been the protagonists of the new diplomacy which Labour desires. The delegates roared with laughter and shouted: "Who told you that?" A printed address compels the speaker to go on without adjusting himself to the temper of the audience, so McGurk had perforce to wade through the document, even though it led him through a volley of mocking laughter in saying that the peace settlement would have been much worse but for the influence of British Labour's policy, and that Mr. Lloyd George had drawn more inspiration from the Labour Party than from all the telegrams of his own followers.

The first and only real burst of applause during his speech came when he said: "We must resist the military operations in Russia." When he added that he did not threaten the Government there were cries of "Why not?"



When he said that to bring about the withdrawal of conscription "we shall resort to any and every legitimate means," delegates interrupted: "Why don't you do it?" There were interjections of dissent and finally a prolonged protest against his observations on direct action:—

"A movement is already afoot to employ the strike weapon for political purposes. This would be an innovation in this country which few responsible leaders would welcome, but the danger is there, and the proposal is being canvassed with much energy. It is perhaps difficult and even unwise to adopt a hard and fast attitude without reservations, and without reference to circumstances of the moment. But generally speaking, I do not think we ought to find it difficult to lay down a broad principle for guidance. We are either constitutionalists, or we are not constitutionalists: if we believe in the efficacy of the political weapon—and we do, or why do we have a Labour Party?—then it is both unwise and undemocratic, because we fail to get a majority at the polls, to turn round and demand that we should substitute industrial action."

The Chairman's address had thrown down a challenge to the Conference. It was presently to be taken up!

The report of the Executive, which the delegates had had but small opportunity to study, and no possibility of receiving instructions upon, was swiftly passed without being read; page after page, was rapidly enumerated by the Chairman, who refused to turn back for delegates desirous of raising questions on page 6 when he had called 7, and so on.

THE WILSON BUBBLE.

W. McLaine of the B.S.P. raised a pertinent protest against the Executive's telegrams of support and congratulation to President Wilson. He pointed out that the President had played the part of commercial traveller for the American capitalists, and that he came into the war when his party thought it advisable in the interests of American capital that he should do so. The situation in America had made it necessary to speak as though the aims he represented were purely altruistic; his speeches had been used by Allied Imperialists to secure Labour support for the peace terms which Labour now repudiates. At the same time our comrades Debs and Berger were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

McLaine had the Conference with him: the Wilson legend is exploded; how eagerly it was propagated by leaders a few short months ago! how guilelessly it was swallowed! We well remember the opposition which we ourselves encountered because we attacked the pro-Wilson policy within the Labour Movement.

Henderson arose with a note of apology in his voice; he hoped that the reference back would not be pressed. Last year the Executive had hoped much from President Wilson's high ideals. The motion was unfortunately withdrawn. The fact remains, even if there had not been, as there was, the warning offered by the fact that American comrades were being

(Continued on page 1385.)

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

A MESSENGER FROM MOSCOW.

The information contained in these articles was brought by a messenger of the Third International who left Moscow on May 20th and came to England via Petrograd.

PART IV.

PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CURRENCY.

But still we had hardly begun to discuss with our comrade the machinery by which the Soviet community is kept going.

It is important, he explained, to secure a large production, in order that there may be an abundance of everything required by the people: then it will soon come to be realised that consumption can be left to take care of itself; that every one can have as much as he or she can use, and yet there will be no lack. In the communist community it will presently be realised that it is wrong to waste an hour's working time; but that it is not wrong, on the contrary it is right, to take all that one wants for use since there is plenty more for others.

The Russians already see from their own experience that production is enormously increased and simplified under communist management. Each industry then becomes a huge co-operative, more powerfully organised than any of the capitalist "trusts." Any machinery that is out of date or the worse for wear can be instantly scrapped: no private interests depend on its maintenance: no family lacking the capital to buy new machinery, is compelled to go on using it. Only the best machinery need be employed. There is no need for several factories with half-used plant to be kept running: the workers from many factories can be concentrated in one establishment where that is advisable from the productive standpoint. Only well-equipped factories need be used; only useful commodities of the best quality need be produced. Neither energy, nor material need be wasted on advertisement.

The economic Soviets, which have the care of industry, are becoming the most important bodies in the community and will gradually absorb all other departments dealing with economic life. As they pay all the workers, they have taken over the most extensive work of the Treasury.

The Superior Soviet of National Economy is called for convenience the Visovnahoz, a composite word made up of the first syllables of its name in Russian.

Members of the Visovnahoz consist of delegates elected by the Soviets of provinces, by national Trade Unions and delegates from factories. Its president is appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, of which he must be a member.

The various industries are grouped under two heads:—

1. In which the industry, though carried on in various establishments, is of a sufficiently homogeneous character to be organised from one technical administrative centre, for instance, the rubber industry.

2. Industries in which there are several distinct branches with different technical problems, such as the textile industry, which deals with cotton, silk, wool, and so on.

Industries under the first head have a central council called the Glauci which is composed of representatives of the workers, technicians, chemists, engineers, and so on, and, if need be, administrative experts from outside, also delegates from the Trade Unions and Soviets.

Industries under the second head have separate councils for each branch of the industry, with delegates like those on the Glauci; and from these councils delegates are sent to a central council called the Zentri.

Local bodies formed from the same elements which compose the Glauci and Zentri are formed in the localities, and there are workshops and factory committees to deal with workshop and factory concerns, as well as for sending delegates to the larger councils.

Deputations may be sent from the Superior Economic Council to any of the intermediate

committees, right down to the workshop; and deputations from the workshop or any intermediate council, may be sent to the highest or any intermediate council.

Our comrade visited the office of the Superior Economic Council just before he left Moscow. He found that four highly qualified officials were constantly at four telephones, replying to inquiries from local councils. Rickoff, the President, had a receiver at his desk so that if necessary, he could reply to any of the inquiries himself.

The workers' control of industry carried on through this system of councils is giving the manual workers wide opportunities to develop their organising abilities. Our comrade told us of a young workman who is on the central council for the metal industries, who is showing remarkable talent for organisation and who is, he said, one of the cleverest men he ever met. This young workman has never been to school and has had no training except that necessary to acquire a knowledge of the particular process by which he earned his living. One of the most brilliant members of the Visovnahoz itself has never been to school.

Lenin constantly urges upon the Russian people the need for efficient organisation: he says that in no country is it so easy to produce a Revolution as in Russia, but in no country is it so difficult to organise its results, because the idealism of the Russians outstrips their power of organisation. Our comrade told us that it is generally agreed that Lenin is not a typical Russian, but that he combines the best characteristics of the Russians and the English. Marie Spiridonova, whose idealistic qualities are admired by all, but whose impetuous illogicalities have caused much trouble to her revolutionary colleagues, is said to be exaggeratedly Russian.

Lenin urges the Russians to study the methodical ways of the British, Germans, and Americans, and to attract all foreigners from whom the Russians can learn, to live in Russia. Skilled workmen of many nationalities are glad to settle in Russia, because the Soviet Republic provides for the workers better conditions than anywhere in the world. From Stockholm especially a great influx of workers is expected as soon as the embargo is raised.

But foreigners are welcomed in Russia not only for what they can teach, but in order that they may learn and carry the knowledge they have gained to their own countries. Thus they are given facilities to study the working of all sorts of departments. When Rickoff, the President of the Superior Economic Council, knew that our comrade was coming to England he put off important engagements to give him information.

MONEY AND BARTER.

We questioned our comrade concerning the worth of the rouble, the various kinds of rouble now in circulation and the story that the roubles of the Czar are worth more in Russia than the roubles of Kerensky. He laughed at the idea and told us that whatever may be the case abroad, in Russia all the roubles are of equal value, since the Soviet Government is printing the roubles of the Czar, and all the later kinds of rouble at top speed. The Communists are deliberately inflating the currency in order to teach the people that money is only a means of exchange, and that useful commodities and labour power are the only real wealth. At the present time Russian roubles are worth more abroad than they are in Russia.

The Communists believe that eventually money will be abolished. They say that country and country, district and district will exchange commodities on a large scale: agricultural districts will exchange their produce for the manufactures produced by industrial districts: probably there will be an annual exchange.

Between individuals barter will cease: individuals will have their need for any given commodity supplied from the communal centres for that commodity.

Already the coupon is beginning in Russia to have a greater importance than money; presently it will oust money, and later, when the community is ready for complete communism, it will itself disappear; the needs of the individual being the measure of his supply.

At present in Russia bread, sugar, milk, boots, clothing, and other things are rationed, and cannot be bought for money unless the buyer is able to present also a coupon proving him to be entitled to purchase. The scarcity produced by the war, the counter-revolution, the blockade, and the fact that the purchasing power of the workers is now enormously increased, have necessitated the rationing, and the ration coupons are playing their part in ousting money from its position of supreme importance.

The house committee has charge of the clothing coupons, and if one wants to buy clothes or shoes beyond the ordinary average, one has to prove one's need to one's house committee.

The abolition of the shopkeeping system and the various middlemen who infest the capitalist regime is a great economy. In Soviet Russia coal, for instance, goes straight from the mine to the factory where it is required, and both the mine and the factory are linked up through the Superior Council of National Economy.

THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The co-operative societies were at first encouraged by the Soviet Government as one means of breaking down the system of private trading; but co-operation is not communism. Co-operatives are capitalist concerns though the capital is divided amongst a large number of shareholders. The reactionary bourgeoisie saw in the co-operatives a means of forming anti-Soviet strongholds and set themselves to capture them as far as possible. Both because the co-operatives in some cases tend to be counter-revolutionary, and because their structure is not fully communistic, the Soviets no longer encourage them, and the co-operatives will gradually disappear.

In Soviet Russia is beginning simultaneously great development in industry and in education, which will act and re-act upon each other. Communist Russia, with a population in which there are no idlers, no uneducated inefficient, no poverty-produced imbeciles and invalids, with large scale communal production, will be able to produce more economically and efficiently than other countries. Soviet Russia will be superior to all her competitors, and since the Communists believe that capitalist traders do not care a damn where they buy, so long as they can buy with profit, they think that Soviet-made goods will tend to oust all others from the market.

From the British commercial standpoint the blockade is a supreme folly, for it is forcing a rapid industrial growth in Soviet Russia. British manufacturers might do a tremendous business in supplying Russia, especially with agricultural machinery, and the service to Russia would benefit all Europe by increasing the food supply. If able freely to obtain manufactured goods from abroad Russia would probably remain an agricultural country: in forcing her to manufacture for herself Britain nurses an eventual competitor.

The counter-revolutionary seizure of the richest coal mines, and the British occupation of the oil fields of Baku, have induced the Soviets to make greater use of the peat, of which there is a great basin around Moscow. An electric generating station is being supplied from the peat, and enough heat, light and motive power will be produced for all Moscow's domestic and industrial needs.

When the blockade is lifted the competition of Soviet Russia will begin to be felt by the capitalists in other countries, and our Moscow friend predicted that, if the British Revolution were not brought about by other causes, before

(Continued on page 1383.)

FOR ROSA LUXEMBURG.

TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Workers! Comrades!

The water, in which the German counter-revolutionaries, the Ebert-Scheidemann Government and its followers desired to drown their shame, has thrown up the body of Rosa Luxemburg.

The Ebert-Scheidemann Government has acquitted the murderers and allowed them to escape; but the water has brought to light their victim and their crimes.

Workers! Comrades!

We do not address you for the sake of your great dead comrade, but for the great ideal for which she lived and died.

Workers of Germany!

She died for you, for your revolution; her death is a visible sign that the counter-revolutionary powers have triumphed, and that if you want to live, you must continue to fight for the revolution and for Communism.

Workers of the wide world!

Our great dead fell a victim for your cause also. She fought for you all through the war. She fought that no new German militarism should

be a menace to the world proletariat. She died a heroic death in this struggle against the powers of the capitalistic counter-revolution.

Workers! Proletarians!

For five years your souls have been seeking each other across the trenches and frontiers.

The fate of the world is now in your hands, the future of the world depends on your co-operation.

For the first time unite in action. Next Friday, June 13th, we shall bury Rosa Luxemburg.

Workers of the world! We invite you to make this a day of rest!

Show to the world that you can meet in united action, and thus render honour to the dead, and give a reminder to the living!

Stir up faith in the future!

Long live Communism!

Long live the World Revolution!

Long live the Proletarian International!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY,
(Spartacus-bund).

This Message appeared in the *Berner Tagwacht* on June 12th.

A MESSENGER FROM MOSCOW.

(Continued from page 1382.)

that time, the pressure of Russian competition in the world's markets, would twelve years produce such a state of commercial depression in Britain, that the Revolution would result. Their own depressed conditions and the example of the happily placed workers in Soviet Russia, would cause British workers to rebel. Hitherto, our comrade argued, the British workers have in some measure benefited by the exploitation which capitalism has practised upon the Indians and others of the more oppressed peoples. British workers will in future be deposed from their relatively fortunate status by the keener competition with which their capitalist masters will have to meet from communist industrialism.

"But if the blockade continue; what then?" we asked. In that case continued war and the propaganda which the Soviet Government carries on amongst invading armies will also finally produce the world-wide communist revolution. Our comrade was confident of success in either case, but he was anxious, very anxious, that Soviet Russia should be left alone to develop the communist life unhindered.

The Revolution in Italy and France, our comrade thought, will come soon and without much difficulty. In Italy and France the Revolution will be more like that in Russia than that of Germany. The Russian Revolution was a toy to the terrible Revolution in Germany. But finally Communism will triumph there also, and Radek may come out from prison to head the Communist Revolution, as Bela Kun did in Hungary. The Revolution in Britain and America may show itself in another character. It may come as it has done in Germany: it may be even more terrible. The Revolution in Germany has been violent, because large sections of the workers themselves, instead of welcoming it, have fought against it. The Capitalist counter-revolution has no strength except that which it draws from the workers.

Our comrade looked on us with pity, fearing that a very great struggle and much suffering may be before this nation of workers who will not see.

Then he cut short his story to advise us: form a Communist party: never mind though it be small—it will grow—but be sure that its principles are sound, and that it stands for a Communist programme that will not have to be changed; that will carry you on through the Revolution and into the communal life beyond.

Again and again he urged us "Prepare a Communist Programme that will not have to be changed."

We spoke of Ireland. Ireland, he thought, will be like the Ukraine: it will demand and will secure self-determination in the early stages of the Revolution, and it will come to the actual Communist Revolution, as was the case in the Ukraine, later than will Britain. Self-determination for Ireland will, of course, form part of the Communist programme, he said.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

[THE END.]

WHAT HAPPENED IN TIPPERARY.

When I arrived in Tipperary to investigate the case of the two little boys kidnapped by the police after the Soloheadbeg shooting affray, the town and district had been for nearly two months subject to martial law. Shops were closed in the town every day at 4 o'clock, and at night armed police and military patrolled the streets. In the mornings the military demonstrated in force in the streets and then went off in different directions to picket the country roads, and prevent any country produce being brought into the town. Old women and little girls carrying eggs to the market suffered much from military bullying and annoyance, the soldiers even searching their pockets, and one old woman had her basket of eggs (containing five dozen) smashed by the soldier who stopped her to produce her passport! Raiding of houses by armed police and soldiers has become part of the daily and nightly experience of the people within the prescribed area.

Not even a dance or concert was allowed to be held, though the military held their own revels in the local Town Hall, which was the property of Lord Bannymore. A number of English land girls had been housed for some months in the best hotel in the town, engaged in the work of marking down for destruction the timber which covers the lower slopes of the beautiful Galtee Mountains. One of the most revolting features of the militarist regime was the effect on school children. Two national schools within the neighbourhood of Soloheadbeg Quarry had been practically empty for over two months, the children being too terrorised to attend them.

M. K. CONVEY.

FOOD PRICES.

Mr. G. H. Roberts, the Food Controller, has informed the public that, in spite of the control, with which he is so pleased, food prices were 133 per cent above the pre-war level at the time of the armistice, and at the beginning of June they were still 104 per cent above pre-war height. Many men have returned from the war to take up work at wages only a few shillings higher than they got before. The working-class mother justly complains of her hard struggle to make ends meet; but she must realise that things will never be right in this country till we have a revolution.

IRISH NOTES.

Great activity is being shown by the police in Dublin and various districts. Many houses have been raided in the city; no less than five this morning. Persons connected with the Labour movement have also had attention shown to them by the police. One of the results of these visits has been the arrest of Countess de Markievicz. She has been arrested and convicted in Cork on a charge of having held a proclaimed meeting.

In Dundalk the military took the entire city in their charge and conducted house-to-house raids.

In Cork, since an explosion in a house in the city, the military and the police have taken the whole city district by district and have searched every house.

In Tipperary the whole countryside has been searched and herdsmen on the mountains have been taken into custody by the police and questioned; only to be released after some hours.

In Waterford the Concert by Casey and Dolly was proclaimed. The police took possession of the hall but the workers held the concert in another building. The local secretary writes: "The meeting was proclaimed presumably because the name of Nora Connolly was on the poster." Casey writes that Dolly was followed by the police because they thought she was Nora Connolly.

In Golden, Tipperary, the local branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union was holding a meeting in the parochial hall when the meeting was broken up by the police and the members were informed that as Golden was a restricted military area no meeting of any kind could be held; the secretary was told that he could not even have a meeting for the purpose of collecting the contributions from the members. The secretary in his report asks: "What is usually done in such cases? What are we to do?" What a commentary on the state of the country when such happenings are accepted as normal.

Another kind of activity is reported from Clounagh, Limerick. This is the report:—

On arriving in Newcastle West on 7th inst. we were shown the railway siding where on the 5th inst. was waged what since has become known as the "Battle of Clounagh."

On the morning of the 5th twenty-seven cars, manned by all the farmers of Clounagh, armed with various lethal weapons, arrived in Newcastle West for coal. They were approached by members of the I.T. and G.W.U., of which Clounagh is a section, and warned not to take the coal.

The farmers ignored the warning and filled the carts. Meanwhile the whole available force of workmen in the town assembled for the attack, locked the railway gates, and led on by an ex-sergeant-major charged. The fight was short, sharp, and furious, and ended in complete victory for the "Reds." The carts were battered to pieces, the horses unyoked, and the coal distributed among the "deserving poor" of the town. "We had no difficulty in routing them," said one of the attackers, "owing to our knowledge of military tactics."

On Friday, hearing that some coal had been transferred to Rathkeale station, the workers of Newcastle boarded the next train without waiting to get tickets, travelled to Rathkeale, where the manager of Clounagh was unlucky enough to run into them. Though 15 stone weight he bolted out of his trap and took refuge in a solicitor's office. His trap was battered to pieces and the remains thrown into the River Deel. Having made sure that no one would remove the coal the Newcastle men returned home by train.

During the time they held up the town they made an interesting capture in the shape of a load of margarine which was being conveyed all the way from Tipperary town to a local creamery; perhaps for greasing the engines.

The activity of the "Red Army" of Newcastle resulted in settling in two days a strike which had dragged on for nine weeks.

NORA CONNOLLY.

JUST OUT!

RED RUSSIA, BOOK II., by John Reed (by kind permission of the "Liberator.") A Speech on the Red Army by L. Trotsky. The Soviet Decree on the Constitution of the Revolutionary Army. With Photographs of Krylenko and Trotsky. Price 4d.

THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE, by Jack Tanner. Based on the Work of Arnold Roller. Price 2d. Usual discount to Branches and other Organisations.

SIX WEEKS IN RUSSIA IN 1919, by Arthur Ransome. Price 2s. 6d.

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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NO PEACE!

Peace has been signed, but there is no peace: the International Civil War goes on, and we Communists pledge ourselves to take our share in the struggle till the end.

China refuses to sign the Treaty.

ALLIES TO ATTACK HUNGARY THROUGH AUSTRIA.

This attack is being made, despite the fact that the Hungarian Soviet on June 20th resolved to assent to the flagrantly unjustifiable annexationist claims of the Allies, which rob Hungary of so much of her richest territory that it is impossible for her population to maintain itself within the boundaries left to her;—a matter of great importance if the blockade is to continue.

CAPITALISTS OPPOSING NATIONALISATION OF MINES.

Imperfect as are the Sankey proposals for nationalising the mines, the capitalist opposition is mustering against the scheme. If the Government gives way to the pressure, a great trial of strength between Capital and Labour should result which may have far-reaching effects.

THE JEWISH MASSACRES.

Under the Soviet system anti-Semitism and other race hatreds disappear.

BALANCE OF POWER v. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

It was said that the League of Nations would replace the balance of power theory, and all sectional alliances between the nations, but President Wilson on America's behalf has entered into a military alliance with France, and Lloyd George in our name has done the same thing. These Alliance Treaties usually have secret clauses in addition to any which are made public.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ARMIES.

The Allies have discovered a new hero in General Diterich, one of the Czar's generals who is taking command of Koltehak's beaten armies. The Times correspondent in the Urals is confident that Diterich will retrieve the fortunes of the counter-revolution: his objective will be Moscow.

Meanwhile "the whole of Siberia" (says a Soviet wireless message) "is in a state of revolutionary unrest. Ninety per cent. of the population is in a state of revolt. Consignments from Vladivostok to Omsk have to be accompanied by armoured trains, in order to protect them against insurgents. These insurgents have become so strong that the Japanese, despite their 120,000 men, are falling back. Another wireless message from Petrograd reports that the province of Daghestan, where Soviet power was established a few weeks ago, has concluded an alliance with the Tchetchen Province (in the Caucasus), and that both are jointly conducting war against Denikin."—Wireless Press.

The rising of the Caucasian tribes in Denikin's rear may paralyse his offensive which seems at present to be the most serious danger to the Red Armies. If it is true that he has taken Kharkoff, that is a considerable loss to the Communists, since it is one of the principal corn markets of the Ukraine. Since the Ukraine came under the Soviets the food shortage has been relieved in Central Russia and the whole situation was thereby changed and improved. The counter-revolutionaries are striking a mortal blow at the Russian workers in attacking their food territories; but we trust that they will fail.

COPENHAGEN, Friday.—The Vienna correspondent of the National Tidende learns from the Austrian Foreign Office that the Communist Government at Budapest has received an ultimatum from the Allies, signed by Marshal Foch, who has also informed the Austrian railway management that the Allies are en route to be transported to the Hungarian frontier.—Central News.

THE GERMAN INDEPENDENTS.

In the German National Assembly on June 23rd the Independent Socialist Löwe said:—"We Independent Socialists told you from the beginning of the Revolution to enter into relations with Soviet Russia. You refused, because you thought that by attacking the Soviet Republic in the Baltic provinces, you could gain favour with the Entente, and get better conditions. We have seen in the last few weeks signs of the coming world-revolution. Labour is moving England, France and Italy towards a world-revolution, and that alone will save us."

It appears that the German Independents are like too many Socialists in this country who are always looking to someone else to help them instead of learning self-reliance. The Germans who look to Revolution in Britain and France and Italy to save them are doomed to disappointment.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

June 24th.—In reply to Commander Kenworthy (L.), Mr. Harmsworth announced that Marshal Foch has "ordered" the cessation of the German advance towards Esthonia, and the immediate evacuation of territory which belonged to Russia before the war. What about the British evacuation!

BOLSHEVISM.

Many questions were asked about "Bolshevism" activity in this country. The usual answers were made about the "public interest" not being served by disclosures. Sir E. Carson (C. U.) asked the most appropriate question of the Minister of Labour: "Can the right hon. gentleman define 'Bolshevists'?" As might be expected there was no reply.

ALIENS.

Sir R. Horne declared that British subjects are given preference over "aliens" in matters of employment. Mr. Billing (Ind.) questioned paying aliens unemployment benefit; but if they are not let work what are they to do?

SUPPLY.

Mr. Kellaway detailed at some length the story of the Ministry of Munitions. It was in no way a revelation. On the shipping debate Colonel Wilson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping excused the transport shortage by calling attention to the "large military demands to be met for Russia and India...."

ACQUISITION OF LAND BILL.

June 25th.—A protest was raised against appointing valuers at high salaries. But the Government held to its determination. Hence it will still be possible for public money to be further squandered in salaries; besides the fancy valuations which are likely to be made

OLD AGE PENSIONERS.

June 26th.—The Committee "inquiring" into the old-age pension question has not yet reported! How many poor people have died or are suffering owing to this unwarranted delay.

EQUAL PAY!

Chauffeurs (male) are paid £5 per week including all overtime; chauffeurs (female), £2 10s. per week including all overtime—plus 5s. per week clothing allowance. These figures were given by Colonel Wilson as obtaining at the national shipyards at Portbury, Chepstow and Beachley.

HOSPITALITY.

Mr. Shortt confessed that allegations which it "was absolutely impossible for us to ignore" forced the Government to stop the French delegates who were proceeding to Southport pending inquiries. It was not possible to admit the source! But who can doubt the source? Were not the "Big Four" timorous of Longuet's disclosures?

THE DOGS' BILL.

June 27th.—The vivisectionists made a last ditch attack on the measure to limit the vivisection of dogs. They were successful and the following was resolved: "That this House declines to proceed further with a measure which would impose an unnecessary and vexatious obstacle to medical research." Yet we call ourselves humane!

M. O'C.

Moscow, June 23rd.—A Bolshevik wireless message states that in the region of Krasnoyarsk, in Siberia, a Soviet Republic has existed since last December. There are two bands which attack trains and cut railway communication with Vladivostok, hindering supplies of munitions for Koltehak's army. The report states that there is fighting in Krasnoyarsk.—Wireless Press.

It is announced from Petrograd that the National Economic Council has decided to organise the manufacture of paper in Russia on a larger scale than hitherto. Prizes will be distributed to those workers who produce an increased output, or to those who economise fuel and material.

UNDER THE IRON HEEL.

THE CONVICTS IN THE CAMPS.

The following article on the way in which the convicts are treated in some of the French work camps is taken from *La Bataille*:—

As you will have seen by the facts that we have related in a previous article, the conditions of the lives of the convicts employed in the camps are really disastrous.

The abuses which are committed there daily show the most notorious brutality and the most intolerable exploitation. The warders who oversee these unhappy men are constantly guilty of the most felonious acts.

Thus, nearly all of them make love to the girls in the neighbouring fields and they become their mistresses; in order to reward their favours, they load them with bags filled with food. Is it necessary to add that these largesses are always the proceeds of illicit thieving by these dishonest officials from the rations of the convicts—rations certainly already meagre enough! With a rare impudence, this thieving is constantly practised in all the camps and on a vast scale.

We will not speak of the bedding.

The men are crowded into tents the canvas of which is absolutely rotten, in fact so bad that in a certain camp, during the torrential rains of the last month, twelve of these fragile shelters out of thirty-six were reduced to rags by the high wind.

The bed consists of twenty-two pounds of straw for each prisoner; it should also be noticed that the bed is never changed. The covering is limited to two blankets, often in a deplorable condition. And on this manure, in the mud, human beings rest (?) How many animals are better nourished and bedded than these men, who endeavour, nevertheless, by assiduous labour, to expiate the crimes they have committed—to use a consecrated expression.

Let us now turn to the chapter of punishments; they are the last word in inhumanity. For small offences the warders inflict upon the men the worst corporal punishment—no doubt in the name of our civilization!

Those undergoing punishment have to remain in the tent, hands and feet tied, without a bit of straw, stretched in the mud. Their only food is 11 oz. of bread a day. The length of the punishment is never fixed; it is at the pleasure of the chief officer of the camp.

The general effect of the facts we have exposed without exaggeration has unquestionably and unfavourably influenced the mentality of the convicts. Knowing this; it is easy to understand the reasons which actuated the few escapes of which we have spoken previously; the arbitrary behaviour of the officials and the bad treatment meted out to the prisoners are undeniably the causes.

Moreover, we are in a position to state that numbers of prison governors complain bitterly of the execrable administration which exists in these workers' camps.

We were forgetting to point out that no hospitals exist in these camps. In the tents and without the least care—for lack of medical necessities—those who are ill can only resign themselves to suffering and sometimes to death!

In face of these revelations, which are absolutely true—for we have our information from a most reliable source—one is horrified. Whether these odious practices which we have denounced are the result of the apathy or of a studied toleration by the public authorities, we do not care; but such a state of things must disappear at all costs, and with the least possible delay. The convicts employed in the camps for the common good—as workers—deserve another reward than the inhuman treatment to which they are subjected and the penalties of which they are the victims. In liberating them—having regard to the extraordinary services they have rendered—either absolutely or conditionally—in any case the Government will accomplish a merciful act which is necessary—and will be carrying out its formal promises which it made to them previously.

ROBERT LANOFF.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA" DEMONSTRATION.

Trafalgar Square on Sunday, June 29th, was decorated with capitalist flags and huge notices of the Victory Loan. But the "Hands Off Russia" demonstration organised by the Workers' Socialist Federation (Communist Party) was held nevertheless, and it was a very big demonstration though hurriedly convened. The speakers had been promised a lively time and a strong force of police was present in anticipation of trouble. But the large numbers of soldiers who attended the meeting were as enthusiastic as the civilians, and the hawkers who were endeavouring to sell noisy instruments and red, white and blue favours found few customers.

In Glasgow and Wales great "Hands of Russia" demonstrations were also held.

THE SOUTHPORT VICTORY.

Continued from front page.

persecuted for voicing the Socialist position on the war, the Executive betrayed its trust and displayed gross incompetence in using the machinery of the Labour Movement for boosting a capitalist politician.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The important subject of the dangerous alliance of Allied Capitalist Governments, called the League of Nations, under the flag of which warships are bombarding Soviet Russia, was hurriedly passed over, the Executive's blind approval of the project being allowed to stand. Only a representative of that burlesque outcrop of Capitalist Imperialism, which has found its way into the Labour movement under the title of the National Socialist Party, attempted to raise an objection. The Chairman, who, by the way, was under the impression that the N.S.P. representative was a B.S.P. representative, snubbed the objector into silence.

RUSSIA AND DIRECT ACTION.

But now we had come to the first round in the contest which was not only the outstanding feature of the Conference but is dominating the world-wide Labour Movement: the contest to decide whether Labour shall employ direct action; whether it shall take up an offensive, instead of mere defensive action in the class struggle; whether it shall fight, without reservation, to annihilate the capitalist system. This was the question which divided the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in Russia. It is bound up with the International Capitalist attack on the Soviet Republics, and with the question whether Labour in this and other countries shall take direct action to stop it. Such direct action will lead inevitably to the struggle to set up the Workers' Soviets in the countries where it is employed. The contest taking place on the edge of the steep incline which leads to Revolution is keenly fought.

C. G. Ammon asked whether the Labour leaders are prepared to accept the Government's snub, or to give the movement a lead on the intervention question, and other delegates asked why it was that the Executives of the political and industrial wings of the Labour movement had not taken effective joint action.

HENDERSON ON DIRECT ACTION.

Arthur Henderson replied that a joint deputation to the Government had been arranged, but the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee had refused to urge the withdrawal of the Conscription Bill; therefore the Labour Party Executive had refused to take part in the deputation. Was it because there may be another side to the story, or because the Parliamentary Committee resents the Political Executive's attempt to put upon it the entire onus of deciding for or against direct action; or was it merely the strictures of Robert Williams, which caused Harry Gosling to speak so reproachfully to the Labour Party, when he came later on to bring fraternal greetings from the Trade Union Congress?

No part of the Executive's report had yet been read, but now the Chairman called on Mr. Henderson to read to the Conference the passages dealing with direct action, and Henderson read them in his most forbidding and challenging tones:—

"The general view of the Executive is that if the British Labour movement is to institute a new precedent in our industrial history, by initiating a general strike for the purpose of achieving, not industrial, but political objects, it is imperative that the trade unions, whose members are to fulfil the obligations implied in the new policy, and whose finances (it is presumed) are to be involved, should realise the responsibility such a strike movement would entail and should themselves determine the plan of any such new campaign."

Sitting obscurely in the visitors' gallery, the majority of the delegates unaware of their presence, were the representatives who had come from the organised workers of France and Italy to appeal to British Labour for joint

industrial action to stop the war on the Soviet Republics. They could not follow the debate except in so far as the reception given to the speeches of prominent figures, whose views were known to them, might indicate the feeling of the Conference. These comrades from France and Italy had been received with inhospitable coldness, instead of being introduced at the outset to the Conference, in order that they might be known to all and mix with the delegates in cordial friendliness throughout the week. Their presence was unannounced, and until the eleventh hour, they were told that they would not even be allowed to address the Conference as fraternal delegates, because they had come from the Trade Union bodies of Italy and France and not from the political parties. At the same time it had been arranged beforehand that Mrs. Besant, who represented no Labour organisation, whether industrial or political, and whose statements on Labour questions have lately been most reactionary, should address the Conference. Fortunately the Executive finally decided to invite the comrades from France and Italy to speak.

The one-day or two-days general strike of Italian, French, and British workers, which D'Arragona, Desmoulins, and Jouhaux had come to propose, is a project which could be quite readily organised by the Labour Party, especially as most of the industrial organisations are affiliated to it; it is a political demonstration, a mere demonstration of working-class power and solidarity. The funds of the unions would not be affected: no strike pay; no organisation for a prolonged struggle would be required. Yet, of course, a short demonstration strike is comparatively valueless, except as a threat to the Government that more serious action may follow, and as an example to the workers of their own strength: an experience for them in the use of mass action. Therefore, whilst the demonstration strike could be held by the Labour Party alone, it is better that it should be arranged in conjunction with the industrial organisations; indeed, it is best that all the forces of Labour, industrial and political, official and rank and file, should combine, for unity is strength, and more than a mere demonstration strike will be needed in the great international struggle between Capitalism and Communism in which it seems that Labour must presently engage. But it must not be forgotten that the Russian and Hungarian revolutions were achieved without the official assistance of the industrial unions. When the German workers struck against the peace imposed on Russia at Brest-Litovsk, they got no strike pay, and their trade union officials ordered them back to work.

Moreover to refer the question of joint action against the intervention in Russia and Hungary to the Trade Union Congress in September, would be to refuse to take joint industrial action with the French and Italian comrades. They wisely refuse to wait to make their protest until the summer has passed, during which the Soviets are meeting the most dangerous attacks from the counter-revolutionary armies. The summer is the season most favourable to offensives; the summer is the season for transporting munitions of war. Whilst we are awaiting conferences the battle is proceeding.

ROBERT WILLIAMS.

When Henderson had read the passages referring the question of industrial action to the Trade Unions, Robert Williams rose to reply. There was great applause. Williams spoke with great excitement, which was shared by the delegates. He said that the Conference must declare itself on industrial action for political objects. The Triple Alliance had decided to call a conference of its constituent bodies with a view to taking such action, but the workers in other trades were anxious to co-operate. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress was blocking direct action: some of its members were more reactionary than Churchill, the British Koltchak. There were members of the Parliamentary Committee and the Labour Party who were providing a smoke screen behind which the Government could

dissemble its acts. "Is the war with Russia constitutional?" he cried. The delegates shouted "No!" "When Koltchak is successful, Churchill gloats over his successes," he continued, "when Koltchak is in full retreat before the Red Armies, Churchill equivocates and says we are not really at war. The Chairman says he does not want to utter a threat to the Government.... Churchill has thrown down a challenge to Labour. I think that at least a million of the pick of the working class is anxious to take it up!... We are convinced that the Government wants to get the same control over the industrial workers that it had over the five million troops during the war. Churchill was surprised by the replies to his circular which showed that the military cannot be relied on to defeat the general strike.... the Navy can be relied on still less, the Police least...." His words were broken by applause. The volatile Welshman was in tune with the general feeling of the conference. He was not voicing a direct call to Revolution—yet; he vacillated between the offensive and the defensive; between the call to the workers to achieve the conquest of power and the appeal to them to defend their old positions; to continue the old game of baling water with a sieve. There was a good deal of hot air about his speech: it lacked definition and exactitude; it failed to outline a definite policy; but it was the most direct utterance Williams has yet made to a Labour conference, where it requires more resolution to be bold than in a mere propaganda meeting.

ROBERT SMILLIE.

The applause which followed Williams' speech was so great that the Chairman called for order, only to be overwhelmed by the general singing of 'For He's a Jolly Good Fellow' which greeted the rising of Robert Smillie.

Two dominant policies are now clearly apparent in the Labour movement: on the one hand the policy with which Henderson is identified, the logical outcome of which is to leave altogether unused Labour's industrial power, to abolish the strike and to leave everything to Parliamentary negotiators. On the other hand is the policy of direct industrial action on all questions—the logical outcome of this policy is revolution. It is a policy not forcefully voiced by any leader in the conference, but the number of its adherents is growing steadily, and amongst them are the most vigorous of those men and women who are doing the actual spade work in the movement.

Robert Smillie stands midway between the two policies. He wishes to use direct action, not to supersede the Parliamentarians who object to it, but to strengthen their hands. The direct actionists, who are steadily gaining control of the Miners' Federation, are the driving force behind Smillie; the force which gives him power and standing in the Conference. At present he is endeavouring to hold together the direct actionists and the Parliamentarians. When the inevitable break between the two sections comes and the industrialists sweep onward to revolution, it remains to be seen whether Smillie will go on with them, or be left behind with the Parliamentarians.

Smillie moved to refer back the paragraph which Henderson had read. He said it was a direct challenge to those who believe in using industrial action to assist the Labour members in Parliament. The Miners would now be congratulated on their success in the matter of the Coal Commission and the nationalisation of the mines, but the industrial action they had taken to achieve that success had been said to be unconstitutional. When the Munitions Act and the Defence of the Realm Act had deprived the Trade Union officials of the power to act, the rank and file had rightly taken unconstitutional strike action. In his opinion the present Government was itself unconstitutional. He asserted that every member of the Labour Party Executive believed the Government had come into power by fraud and deceit. One expected Smillie to argue from this that it would be right to strike to abolish this Government but he said:

Continued on page 1386.

THE SOUTHPORT VICTORY.

Continued from page 1385.

"No one proposes a strike to get rid of the Government," though he added that strike action might be constitutional if the cause were sufficient. Apparently Smillie is prepared to advocate a general strike to get rid of a capitalist Government on the ground that it is bad of its kind: is he also prepared to advocate striking to get rid of any capitalist Government just because it is a capitalist government? In protesting against the refusal of the Parliamentary Committee to take action regarding conscription he said: "Is it not a Labour question? When our members were conscribed they lost their voice: was it not our duty to speak for them? We are anxious to take constitutional action rather than wait on for a revolution. I do not think the forward movement can be held back unless the Government deals justly with the people." Finally Smillie appealed to the Executive to withdraw this "slap in the face" to the direct actionists.

The Chairman, rather truculent, refused, saying: "We must warn the Trade Unions where they are going. Take care you have caught your hare before you cook it." He called on James Sexton. Sexton, though he is the comedian of the Labour Party, blurted out what evidently the Executive was thinking. His first words were that the effort to stave off direct action was "not the only forlorn hope." He agreed that the Government had grossly deceived the people, but he appealed against "civil war" (evidently assuming that a strike must lead to it). It would be easier, he urged, to proceed by way of a general election, even if we had to wait four years. "If you destroy the Government what are you going to put in its place?" he asked pathetically. "A better one!" some one ejaculated. "Ah! if that were possible!" he answered, and protested that "the elements you can't control in the Trade Union movement" would be let loose. "I'm a revolutionist of a social character: I don't believe in letting loose mad dogs!" One wondered which of our sober British Trade Unionists he was describing thus. "Can't Mr. Sexton go on at the variety show to-night?" asked an indignant delegate. "Don't insult Mr. Sexton," the Chairman answered.

BROMLEY'S STRAIGHTFORWARD WORDS.

J. Bromley, of the Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, rose to second the reference back. The Chairman hoped it would not be seconded, but Bromley insisted and delivered the most courageous, straightforward, and sensible speech of the Conference.

"I admit that for this Conference to take its stand on direct action is not only an innovation, but an innovation fraught with very serious consequences, but I am going to argue that we have got to face that to save ourselves from destruction." He congratulated the Triple Alliance on having sounded a call to action. It was useless to wait until we had returned a majority to Parliament; when the election came round, the capitalist press was always able to cajole a large proportion of the people. The workers having been betrayed and mistaken in the elections, we should swing the whole force of industrial action into line. As a Trade Union official he said: "Let us give the rank and file a lead; they are waiting for it. Some leaders don't like to be roasted in the capitalist press: they prefer to be called level-headed Trade Unionists; the rank and file are more earnest, more serious, they feel the hardships more, I fear, than we leaders do. Let us say to them: 'We are coming at last, even if we've been a long time about it, and we're with you to the end!'"

GOVERNMENT SPIES: WHAT IS THE M. A. 5 DIVISION?

Bromley asked significantly: "What is the M.A.5 secret service division of the police?" He asserted that the Government sends spies into the Labour movement to speak on revolutionary platforms and "to shout louder than any of us."

The Right Hon. W. Brace, late Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, rose to oppose the reference back. He seldom speaks in Labour conferences and has little influence there. Brace objected to the paragraph because it referred the principle of using industrial action for political purposes to the decision of the Trade Union Congress. He considered both bodies should decide it, and he wanted the Labour Party to decide against such action, because he thought it would ruin the Labour movement. In a few years there would be a Labour Government. There might be revolting minorities then, so for its own sake, Labour must not encourage them now. He tried to claim some share of the Miners' successes for the Labour Party in Parliament, by saying that though the Miners by their industrial action had created the atmosphere, the Parliamentary Party had had to secure the setting up of the necessary Parliamentary authority: a weak pretence, for, as every one knows, the Miners have again and again forced Governments to ask them to negotiate and would have done so had no Parliamentary Labour Party existed.

HENDERSON THREATENS RESIGNATION.

Arthur Henderson urged that the paragraph should not be referred back; his speech was half a threat; half a plea. Every tone and gesture showed that he knew his policy to be doomed, but he will hold to that policy as long as he can. He said that the Executive had followed the lead of the Triple Alliance in referring the matter to the Trade Union Congress, and that the Miners' resolution had said that only the Trade Union bodies should act. Yet Smillie had already explained that the Triple Alliance had asked that the Parliamentary Committee take action, because when the Alliance had previously attempted to get the Labour Party to move, objections had been raised on the score that the Labour Party is not wholly composed of trade unions. Williams in his speech at the opening of this debate had suggested that a vote of the Trade Union bodies present should be taken. The Triple Alliance does not care which of the two bodies gives the call to action: when it drafted its resolution asking the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee to act, the miners could not foresee that by this time the Parliamentary Committee would have refused to act, and the proposal of the French and Italian comrades for a united strike would be, as it were, knocking at the door.

Henderson did not answer the suggestion made earlier by Robert Williams, that the question of a strike should be decided at this Conference by the votes of the Trade Union bodies only. He said that if the paragraph were referred back, it could only be interpreted in one way (presumably, as a vote of censure on the Executive). He declared that if the Executive got instructions to adopt industrial action for political purposes in orthodox fashion, through a resolution on the agenda, he and others would have to decide "whether the interests of the Party and the interests of the country allow us to decide whether we can remain with a Party we believe is going on to ruin." It was an indirect threat to resign and perhaps to set up a new party. He appealed that the issue might not be decided in this indirect way, but on one of the resolutions, and promised that it would not be taken as a victory against industrial action if the motion to refer back the paragraph were withdrawn.

Smillie, always accommodating, at once agreed to withdraw his motion, and the question of industrial action in support of the Soviets was set aside for the time being. Henderson had averted a decision at least for that day.

THE WORK OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY.

The work of the Parliamentary Party was next referred to. Some one was indignant because Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., elected as a Coalition Liberal, who now wants to be a Labour M.P., has not yet been admitted to the Labour Party. No one asked: "Is he a Socialist?"

The Paddington Labour Party complained that Mr. Peters, the Labour Party election agent, had induced them to elect Mr. Strauss, who was the sitting Conservative M.P., as their candidate, and then the Executive had refused him the Labour coupon. The Chairman and Mr. Henderson were determined that this matter should not be fully discussed and the Paddington objectors were shouted into silence.

Mr. Morrison of the London Labour Party and I.L.P., who usually resents criticism of officials, made a vigorous attack on the Parliamentary Party, which he said had been "a failure, had 'not worked hard,' and had neglected the questions of open covenants, the blockade, release of conscientious objectors, and the attack on the Socialist Republics. He moved to refer back the paragraph in question. Wallhead seconded the motion, but doomed it to failure by quoting the opinion of *The Daily News*, which said that the horizon of the Labour Party did not expand beyond hours and wages. More effective were Mrs. Bamber, who believed that the Labour movement was created to smash the capitalist system and wanted to hear a difference between the speeches of Labour M.P.s and those of Liberal and Tory members, and Buchanan of the Glasgow Trades Council, who asked what the Labour members had done concerning the batoning of the people during the Clyde strike and the comrades lying in gaol. Wallhead had played into the hands of Adamson, who replied for the Parliamentary Party, and he easily defeated the motion by replying that of course the Liberals criticise Labour. No great interest was aroused by this debate: interest in Parliament and all connected with it is down to zero.

PEACE!

Then MacDonald moved an emergency resolution on peace, which stated that "now that Germany has decided to sign the Treaty of Peace, thereby opening up the opportunity of co-operation with the democracies of the world," the harsh provisions of the Treaty should be revised and Germany should be admitted to the League of Nations.

How the signing by Germany of infamous peace terms could, or should "open up the opportunity of co-operation with the democracies" is beyond our comprehension. Moreover we regard the League of Nations as a dangerous capitalist organism and offer our own congratulations to any country that refuses to join it; but the policy of the resolution is the policy of MacDonald and, alas! nothing more enlightened on international policy was before the Labour Conference.

MacDonald's speech was received with so much cordial admiration as a piece of oratory, that we regret having to say that it aroused our very keen opposition, for what was the point of it? We dismiss the simile of the growing grass that overcame the noise of the cannon. Also the "fair monument" for the soldiers, to whom the most monumental of good resolutions not to let it happen again, on the part of those who are still here to tell the tale, can make no difference at all. But we protest that MacDonald (perhaps in the effort to conciliate) was pandering in his speech to that narrow nationalist conceit from which springs jingoism, and which makes it possible for our capitalist rulers to drag the people into war. MacDonald said: "If Germany had been in our position she would have done worse than this." Some one cried "Ah!" He persisted: "I agree—I never said anything else." But surely you thought something else, Mr. MacDonald? Were you not of the U.D.C. school, which contended that the Allies had humiliated Germany in and frustrated her commercial expansion and that the Czar had finally precipitated the war? And can you really say that you think it possible for any great nation to have imposed on it worse terms than these which have been forced on Germany? He went on to enumerate the various kinds of peace:—

"There is a peace of punishment. My friends, Germany must bear the burden of her own acts, but peace is best when there is a reserve of justice

(Continued on page 1387.)

THE SOUTHPORT VICTORY.

(Continued from page 1386.)

behind it....There is another peace....a peace that controls the evil passions of Europe and tames them, a peace that comes with such a magnificent demeanour to the world that it subdues the world, that is the peace of democracy....You clench your little hands, you take your coats off....the great personality goes through the crowd...."

And so on and so forth. It may be very fine for we British people to look upon ourselves as magnanimous demigods because we pass rather weak resolutions about a people's peace, but at the present time an attitude of humility befits us better. If MacDonald did not intend that picture of him as a representation of the kind and virtuous British people who pass these resolutions, the delegates who were jingoes in the war, certainly thought he did and expanded with a sense of heroic magnanimity.

Clynes seconded the resolution, complimented MacDonald on his speech and declared that the defects MacDonald had observed in the Peace Terms were entirely due to the fact that the British Labour Party was not represented at the Peace Conference, due to its having seceded from the Government, contrary to his own advice.

Certainly if the Labour Party had remained in the Government, we should have heard nothing from the official element of defects in the Peace Terms, but we think that the terms would have been precisely the same as they are to-day. Clynes showed how absolutely he is imbued by capitalist politics, by saying that it is right to make Germany pay, in money and by trade agreements, but wrong to make her pay by transfer of territory.

THE BLOCKADE.

Mrs. Philip Snowden effectively exposed the horrors of the blockade, but she made the mistake, which was embodied in the blockade resolution, of asking that the Supreme Economic Council should remain in being. Such a Council, controlled as it is, and is likely to be for some time to come, by capitalist governments, is a danger to the Socialist Republics, and to the growth of Socialism wherever its jurisdiction extends. The resolution further protested "against the failure to provide in the Peace Terms, either for the restoration of industry throughout Europe with equality of fiscal treatment, or for any adequate international control of raw materials and food." Any such control in the hands of the Big Four would simply be used to interfere with the smaller nations and to oppose Socialism. We are surprised that so able a man as T. C. Cramp, who seconded the blockade resolution, did not appear to realise this. He wisely expressed satisfaction that Labour had not entered the Coalition, and that it was therefore possible to say that "Labour has no part or lot in this devilish business. The only people who gloat over the sufferings of the women and children in the Central Empires are those who would gloat over the sufferings of women and children in this country if the workers were to revolt." He was mistaken in saying that the food reservoir of the Ukraine no longer exists, for since it was freed from the capitalist armies it has been a valuable source of supply to North Russia.

THE FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

Branting of Sweden, Chairman of the Berne Conference, was the first of the fraternal delegates to speak. He said that Sweden, after thirty years of effort, had just won complete adult suffrage; after they had fought so long to attain political democracy, Swedish Socialists were not prepared to adopt new theories coming from a land which had until recently been governed by an autocracy. They hoped for great successes at the forthcoming elections.

Renaudel spoke for the French Socialist Party. Longuet and Frossard, who were to have been present had been interfered with by the British authorities at Folkstone, and had returned to Paris under the affront. He reminded the Conference of Jaurès' prediction that the war would lead to revolution, and said that in some

form or other the revolution would appear in Britain and in France.

Huysmans, the Secretary of the Second International, aptly remarked that the British workers who were complaining of the intervention in Russia should ask themselves who carries the munitions for Koltchak's armies. "They are not carried personally by Lord Milner. Not only the Government but other elements are responsible. Do not complain of every one but yourselves." Huysmans spoke bitterly, like a man who in heavy discontent with the way of the world feels himself powerless.

In sharp contrast was the speech of D'Arragona of the Italian Confederation of Labour. Italy is but a new nation; her trade union organisation is barely twenty-five years old and numbers only 800,000, but all Italian industrial organisations are imbued with the Socialist idea and the Socialists and Trade Unionists fought against the war consistently from the start. The Socialist Party increased its membership during the war from 50,000 to 100,000; 42 Socialist deputies are in the Chamber and 300 municipalities in the hands of the Socialists.

The Italian masses see nothing before them but the Social Revolution. This is not only due to their state of mind: the economic conditions also force them to it. D'Arragona himself belongs to the right wing of his Party, but he can see no alternative to Revolution. "You must not be surprised," he said, "to hear very soon of revolution in Italy in which some blood will be shed." He spoke, not dismally of the future, like the other delegates, but buoyantly, with an irrepressible sound of hope in his voice, though he was an old man with a white beard.

Van Roosebroek from the Belgian Socialist Party had been detained by the Belgian sailors' strike at Ostend: the sailors had won. He told of a remarkable growth of trade unionism in Belgium during the German occupation.

THE INTER-ALLIED DEMONSTRATION STRIKE.

Neither D'Arragona nor Jouhaux, who spoke for the French General Confederation of Labour, had referred to the mission on which they had come to England. Negotiations between themselves and the Labour Party Executive were still proceeding when they addressed the Conference on Thursday.

It had been proposed that the French and Italian workers should strike on a given date, and that the British should hold demonstrations the same evening, a characteristically feeble proposal, in view of the fact that the French and Italians are doing little in the anti-Soviet war whilst the British are not only sending troops, but the main supplies of munitions to the counter-revolutionaries.

On Friday morning Henderson announced that it had been agreed that demonstrations should be held on Sunday and Monday, July 20th and 21st, in France, Italy, and Britain, "in the form best adapted to the circumstances and to the methods in operation in each country." A long resolution to be submitted to these demonstrations concluded as follows:—

"To this end it is the further duty of the working class movement to authorise action in the various Parliaments, and to bring to bear whatever pressure it can command, in view of their national circumstances against the governing authorities of the various countries."

The announcement was coldly received, there was just a faint clapping of a few hands—nothing more. Some one asked whether the statement was presented for endorsement by the Conference. Henderson replied stiffly that he had read the statement "as a matter of information only." Henderson invokes all the forms of democracy on questions he wishes to obstruct, but otherwise he is jealous of the Executive's authority. John Hill moved the endorsement, but the Chairman ignored him.

J. H. Davies of the Manchester Labour Party and G. Deer, B.S.P., then proposed a composite resolution protesting against the intervention in Russia and raising the question of direct action thus:—

"And it instructs the National Executive to consult the Parliamentary Committee of the

Trade Union Congress with a view to effective action being taken to enforce these demands by the unreserved use of their political and industrial power."

The resolution is somewhat vague and remote.

It ignores the appeal of the French and Italian comrades for united strike action on July 20th and 21st. It ought to have decided upon action for that day.

It leaves to the Labour Party Executive and the Trade Union Congress the decision as to what action, if any, shall be taken. The Labour Party Executive cannot be trusted to decide for direct action. The Parliamentary Committee is openly opposed to it.

Nothing more will be heard of the resolution unless the rank and file force the hands of their Executives.

George Deer truly said that Keir Hardie had travelled all over the Continent advocating the general strike to prevent war. He had urged that policy upon British workers. No one in the British Labour movement repudiated him; no one had said then that such a strike would be unconstitutional.

Ben Tillett attacked the resolution, declaring that in Russia no Trade Union can meet, no life is sacred, and everything is chaos. Delegates laughed: "You've been reading *John Bull*!" He grew angry: "There will be no peace in the world till Russia is settled: I shan't be behind when there is fighting. I tell you the Trade Union movement will not allow you to boss it." The delegates had grown angry, his words were drowned in shouts.

Frank Hodges, the Secretary of the Miners' Federation, then made a very tactful speech. The resolution did not declare a strike; it only asked for consultation with the Parliamentary Committee with a view to industrial action to back up the Parliamentary Party and strengthen its force. Every union has its own way of doing things and will act according to its own constitution. If the Labour Party fails to induce the Labour Party to move, the Triple Alliance will act on its own account. The speech, which began very guardedly, ended with a hint that the country was moving onward to revolution.

Clynes answered Hodges. He believed in the extreme use of the strike weapon, but for industrial not political purposes. He was heard with impatience.

A woman delegate wanted to know how many of our boys would go out to Russia but for the unemployment the Government maintains here.

When she ceased the delegates insisted on voting and though the Chairman was reluctant he had to obey the persistent demand. The resolution was carried on a card vote by 1,893,000 votes to 935,000. Only hard work and strong determination can make that vote effective. Nevertheless it marks a distinct advance of opinion in the British Labour movement. Will those who voted for direct action realise their obligation to take direct action?

THE INTERNATIONAL.

The I.L.P. has greatly resented the decision of a former Labour Party Conference that the British representation at the Second International should be through the Labour Party only and the separate representation of Socialist societies should be abolished. An I.L.P. resolution restoring the old arrangement was carried by 1,718,000 to 711,000. The B.S.P. desired to amend the resolution, the reason given by their spokesman being that the Italian and Swiss Parties refuse to join the Second International and that the B.S.P. refuses to support an International in which all countries are not represented. We think, however, the B.S.P. intention was to draw attention to the Third International. The I.L.P. scored a triumph in this Conference. It has regained its old position in the International and every one of its nominees for office was elected. But the men and women it is represented by stand for a policy less definitely Socialist and much less revolutionary than that of the Conference itself.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By F. P.

MINERS' ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The Miners' Annual Conference was held at Cardiff for a whole week commencing on June 16th, and the largest and most far-reaching Agenda which has ever been before any organised body of workers was discussed. Not all the items were trifling, but many were very comprehensive questions that will effect the future conduct of the Coal Mining Industry.

The Conference was agreed on the abolition of piece-work, and the submitting of a flat daily minimum wage.

A very enthusiastic reception was given to the work of *The Daily Herald*, which it was decided to support financially and morally. A very bad practice has been going on for years in the S.W.M.F. as regards the election of officers. When a certain office was contested, it generally happened that on the day of election all nominees would withdraw in favour of the sitting official. This resulted in the same men holding the same official position from year to year. This year, the pernicious practice has been stopped, and the nominees for the various official positions did not withdraw, but stood for Election. The result is that the various officials have been rudely shaken, and can no longer think their positions invulnerable. It is hoped they will learn they must go along the road set for them by the revolutionary rank and file, or stand to lose their seats. The former course will undoubtedly be chosen as the most honourable to the officials concerned, and the most advantageous to the success of the miners' movement.

One of the most intelligent discussions in the Conference was that of the miners' attitude towards the introduction of machinery into the mines. A resolution was sent in from one Lodge advocating the doing away with all machinery in the mines. This resolution met with very little support, and the majority of the delegates were entirely in agreement with the introduction of machinery. After a great deal of discussion it was decided to come to a general policy throughout the coalfield on the question of the introduction of machinery. It would indeed be ridiculous to oppose machinery, for its recognition is the basis to Scientific Socialism.

Not only in the Mining industry, but in all industry, the workers must welcome the development of machinery, but see to it that the advantages go to themselves and not to the capitalists. The introduction of machinery must be made to mean, for the workers, decreased hours and an improved standard of life. Only then can machinery be made of advantage to the workers.

The Conference discussed at length the question of intervention in Russia and a special resolution was framed that was carried unanimously. It was, that the Conference protests against intervention in Russia by the Allied Governments, and that the Triple Alliance should take drastic action within 14 days if the troops were not withdrawn. As usual, this resolution is very vague, and may remain merely a resolution. The Triple Alliance need not be afraid to act, for rank and file opinion is becoming stronger and stronger against Allied intervention in Russia. Something must be done at once to free the Socialist Republics.

The Conference was really a huge success, and miners should be proud that they have within their ranks, men who can discuss so intelligently, very intricate problems, such as were discussed at the Miners' Annual Conference.

Anti-Socialists say that the workers are not intelligent enough to carry on production without the so-called "directive ability" of the capitalist class. Let these people go to the conferences of organised labour, and they will indeed be blind if they come from there still of the same opinion.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA"
DEMONSTRATIONS.

On Sunday, June 29th, monster demonstrations were held all over South Wales to demand the withdrawal of our troops from Russia and other countries where Socialism exists. Vast crowds attended, and the Government would do well to harken to the voice of the rank and file, before it will be too late, and the rank and file take matters into their own hands. The "Hands Off Russia" movement is becoming stronger every day. Not only do we say that, but also *The Saturday Journal*. This journal has sent to South Wales a Commissioner to enquire into the truth of the saying that South Wales is a "hotbed of Bol-

shevism." He has written his impressions in the columns of the *Journal*, and is decidedly of opinion that the saying is only too true. He paints us a picture, which must give the aristocracy the "creeps," of South Wales preparing for the Bolshevik Revolution. The Commissioner of *The Saturday Journal* can be assured that his leg has been pulled in a good many instances, for the revolutionary has the knack of knowing such as he when he is seen. Posters are being displayed, calling attention to *The Saturday Journal*. It shows a map of Great Britain in white, but South Wales painted blood-red, with the words "the hotbed of Bolshevism" written across the poster. What a terrible sign for the future!

THE PRINCE AND DISCHARGED SOLDIERS.

In order to secure the presence of discharged men at the reception to the Prince, the Colliery Companies were compelled to buy it, by giving them a few hours off from work. In spite of this inducement, two branches of the Discharged Soldiers and Sailors decided to have nothing to do with the reception to the Prince. It is significant that the Prince imposed himself upon the inhabitants of the Rhondda Valleys. Neither the Pontypridd nor the Rhondda Urban District Council gave a civic reception to the Prince. Organised labour also had nothing to do with his coming, in fact, it objected to it. So the Prince came at the direct invitation of the coal-owners, who paid the expense of his visit. Surely, no members of the royal family will come again to the Rhondda, under such conditions, if they possess any self-respect. There were many so-called Socialists (?) who attended the function without a blush, and who should be treated as traitors to the working-class movement. "No faith have we in Prince nor Peer" is the elementary principle of Socialism, and any man who hob-nobs with the Prince is no Socialist, but a traitor.

A CORRECTION.

In last week's Notes it was stated that the Clerks had decided to join the Miners' Union. Later news has proved this to be incorrect.

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

These are meetings to protest against Intervention in Russia:—

FRIDAY, JULY 4th.

The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JULY 5th.

Great Push against Conscription and Intervention in Russia, and for a People's Peace, in the Holloway District.—Meetings at 3 P.M. outside Jones Bros. (Holloway Road); at 7 P.M. at Giesbach Road, near Archway Tavern. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss Rickards and Ph. Edmunds.

SUNDAY, JULY 6th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Birch, and others.

Dock Gates, Poplar.—7 P.M., Ph. Edmunds, and others.

FRIDAY, JULY 11th.

Tower Hill.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JULY 12th.

Great Push in the St. Pancras District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, JULY 7th.

20, Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F.—7.30 P.M., Business Meeting; 8.30 P.M., Reading Circle.

FRIDAY, JULY 11th.

Chandos Hall.—7.30 P.M., Sylvia Pankhurst, and others.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, JULY 8th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Mr. Burns, 'Women and Socialism.'

THURSDAY, JULY 10th.

400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee.

Gratefully Acknowledged.

JUNE 21st.

GENERAL FUND.—Mrs. Shiel, 5s.; Mrs. Bodley, 5s.; Mr. Ed. Healy, 3s. 2d.; Mrs. Ellis, 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Walker, £9 15s. 6d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Miss A. Udny, £2 11s. 4d.; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes), £2 10s. 9d.; Mrs. Boswell (monthly), £2; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £1 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (monthly), £1; per Miss J. E. Weir, £1 5s.; Mrs. Lettie Usherwood, £1; Rev. B. C. Shelley, £1; Miss A. E. Goodliffe, £1; Miss Moskevitch, 7s. 9d.; Miss Vibert, 6s.; Miss Ella E. White, 5s.; Mrs. Gillies, 4s.; Miss Limouzin, 2s. 1d.; Mrs. Napier (Vegetables); Miss Tussell, Mrs. Lelasheur (clothes); Miss Gibson (toys).

JUNE 28th.

GENERAL FUND.—Mrs. E. E. Palmer, £1; Miss Violet Causton, 10s.; Mrs. E. A. Guelke, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Trafalgar Square Demonstration, £8 12s. 8d.; Mrs. Walker, £4 14s. 4d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s. COLLECTIONS: E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 8s. 7d.

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To Women and Men who
Abhor Injustice.

A Meeting, to demand the fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge not to dismember the Turkish nation, will be held on TUESDAY, JULY 8th, at ESSEX HALL, Essex Street, Strand.—Time 7 p.m. (doors open 6.30). Chair taken by Marmaduke Pickthall, supported by Sir Theodore Morrison and others. ADMISSION FREE. John Arnall, Organiser; Arthur Field, Secretary. Anglo-Ottoman Society, 158, Fleet Street, E.C.

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